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## THE WORLD AND THE NEXT WAR

AN EASTERN VIEW-POINT

*By M. N. Chatterjee, M.A.*

The colossal struggle in Europe brings to our minds visions of the future—appalling when we think of the destruction, waste and massacre of a far greater war that is to come; hopeful when we think that this present gigantic conflict may change the course of civilization to a safer, less tortuous channel. Though the latter is a consummation devoutly to be hoped, apprehension of the former is widespread and persistent. It is not “America and the next war,” it is not “Japan and the next war.” But it is “the West against the East and the next war.” Then we shall see a world war in the real sense.

Far from being impossible or merely imaginary, this conflict seems almost inevitable when one analyzes carefully the difference in conditions East and West and the apparent trend of the “boasted Western civilization.” Very true there are millions who declare that we have had “hell on earth” already, that another great war is impossible because of the horror and dread, disgust and loathing inspired by the devastation and slaughter of the present upheaval. But there are other and perhaps more millions who recognize that war scars are easily forgotten in the present age when human life is valued in terms of pounds, shillings and pence; in marks, francs, pesos, and dollars. This brings us to the examination of the crux of the whole discussion of “war or no war.” Let us recapitulate for a moment what has happened in this most enlightened age of the world’s history.

Napoleon, past-master of strategy and tactics, outstanding genius of all warfare, at once the greatest commander and administrator, most ambitious and courageous of men,

said, "There is nothing of permanent value that can be gotten by brute force." General Sherman said "War is hell." These men knew what they were talking about; they spoke from experience. Every student of history throughout the civilized world is familiar with these expressions. All fathers, all mothers, kings, emperors, and generals know that "war is hell." Still it is here, raging as never before over three great continents, Europe, Asia and Africa.

*The Great Illusion*, an epoch-making book by Norman Angell, translated into more than twenty different languages, has impressed the great statesmen of the world, including the German Kaiser, Sir Edward Grey and others. We have been told that 10,000 copies of a cheap edition were sold in Germany in a single week; 40,000 brochures containing the gist of it were sent to the German students by the Garton Foundation. The book has been read and digested throughout the world. Still we hear of the economic advantages that will accrue to a victorious nation. In spite of the widespread influences of thirty or more peace agencies, societies and associations, in spite of the consecrated devotion and self-sacrifice to the cause of peace on the part of hundreds, aye, tens of thousands of noble men and women in all lands we have this tremendous, and, in many aspects, unprecedented calamity in the eastern hemisphere today.

It is not a war to civilize a barbarous people, it is not a conflict between two backward nations, it is not an expedition to suppress a quarrelsome neighbor. It is war, a frightful, devastating war not between two but between many—including the most civilized—nations, nations that claim to be Christian and that send missionaries over the rest of the world to convert other peoples to their views and beliefs.

What a paradox is thus revealed. Consider the fact that while the representatives of these nations were going through intellectual gymnastics at The Hague, their respective governments at home were making larger and ever larger ap-

appropriations for armies and navies and continual improvements in death dealing machinery; their factories were devoting time and energy to the production of the most powerful of great cannon and rapid-fire machine guns; their chemists were working feverishly to evolve the most destructive explosives and treacherous invisible gas fumes; their dockyards and ship building plants were running at full blast and overtime; their agents were advertising for and baiting recruits for the various arms of the service. This is sufficient proof to any mind that they never regarded seriously the proceedings in the Dutch capital. It was all a grim joke. Further to illustrate the point let us read the following from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* under the caption "The Hague Conference:"

The chief object of the first conference as set forth in the notice of Count Mauraviev, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, was to arrive at an "understanding not to increase for a fixed period, the present effectives of the armed military and naval forces, and at the same time not to increase the budgets pertaining thereto; and a preliminary examination of the means by which even a reduction might be effected in future in the forces and budgets above mentioned."

Not one nation believed that they were going to do any such thing. It is not polite, however, to decline an invitation to such a conference. In paper and speech, in passing resolutions, all the nations participated freely, with full and complete discussion of the recommendations that came from various committees. In practice, however, all the nations engaged in the present great conflict have violated every canon of that conference at The Hague.

These conferences it may well be observed are not new to the world. The Emperor Nicholas II was not the first to entertain this noble idea of uniting all the leading nations upon the basis of some sort of a common understanding or agreement. Six hundred years before the first Hague conference a pupil of St. Thomas Aquinas proposed a scheme similar to that accepted at The Hague. Henry IV of France and his minister Sully, Emèric Crucè, Hugo Grotius, George Fox, with his Society of Friends, William

Penn, all pointed in the same direction. In his *Eternal Peace* Immanuel Kant proclaimed that war should never cease until the world was organized and that it could never be organized until its constituent nations had achieved self-government.

The first peace societies in the world were founded in 1815 in New York and Boston. English peace societies followed in 1816. Charles Sumner's *True Grandeur of Nations*, Richard Cobden's *The Learned Blacksmith* and the writings and orations of John Bright, Victor Hugo and Passy are great pleas for peace. In spite of all these, however, we have this greatest of all wars today. Furthermore between 1843 and 1857 there were five international peace congresses, in London, Brussels, Paris and Frankfort. All these were held before the first Hague conference.

A careful study of the proceedings of all these peace meetings reveals the fact that the organizers had one particular object in view—that is “to civilize warfare.” an impossible program. When war becomes “civilized” there will be no war. So far all the important restrictions adopted in the various peace conferences may be said to have been observed to a certain degree at all times except in time of war. The most elastic claims or pretexts, those of “self defence” and “by way of reprisal,” are resorted to in justification of the wanton violation of all the provisions of these peace conferences, as has been very clearly shown in the present conflict. This being undeniably true, what, may we ask, is the value or effect of these conferences? They are worthless if education is worthless. These conferences cannot civilize warfare any more readily than a missionary can convert spiritually an African Zulu or an Australian bushman at their first meeting. To civilize warfare you will have to civilize the man that purposes to engage in it. As long as it is assumed, therefore, that the peoples at present engaged in war are already highly civilized, the immediate object of these conferences will of necessity be lost sight of during the conflict. This is a fundamental truth. The sooner we realize it the better. Perhaps a little explanation of this view is necessary.

It might be said that it is heresy to proclaim that present-day Europe is not civilized. England with her million upper class and thirty-eight millions lower class, the latter on the hand-to-mouth plane of existence, is leading the world in industry, education and culture. She is the champion of civilization and liberty—liberty not for all, to be sure, but liberty for those who, it is decreed, deserve it, namely for the million upper class English people. Germany considers her “kultur” the salvation of the world—a kultur under which no man or woman dare say a word against the policy of the Kaiser. France, the most civilized of all the European countries, or so regarded because she originates and introduces fashions to the world, is famous for her scientific genius which makes many middle class and impecunious upper-class people frantic because they cannot see their way clear to meet the ever-increasing demands of their wives and daughters. But it seems to an easterner that present-day European civilization is based on industrial development or to use a more common expression, on “a money-making propaganda.” In this civilization the lower nine-tenths of the population, the “common workers,” play but one part—to follow blindly the upper class, which dominates them economically, ethically and spiritually. To be sure these lower nine-tenths have their own organizations, churches, societies, unions and fraternities—effective only in making an unscientific strike at the wrong moment and proving always a failure in a real crisis. It would be strange were it otherwise. They are under the spell of an illusion that they are a free people and are at liberty to choose for themselves. But as a fact they are no more free to choose for themselves than is one of their elements or constituent units, the negro, to determine which profession or occupation he shall follow in the United States. Their only real glory is in the name of the nation to which they promise allegiance. Salvation by grace is often heard of and is conceivable, but salvation by nationality is a new doctrine and the only consolation for the poor nine-tenths of European countries.

In any progressive civilization one would expect to see the condition of the mass of the people improved in every respect. Modern civilization has had but one meaning to the mass, that is the standard of living. A higher standard of living is accepted as synonymous with a higher standard of civilization. "Man does not live by bread alone" has no significance in European countries. This is why one finds in their writings and utterances, on social subjects a constant reference to biological laws as the only basis of human activity. Lower animals have but two dominating desires to gratify, one for food, the other for bodily pleasure. As long as man is on that plane, biological laws are perhaps all he needs to observe. Quarrels and bickerings, eventuating in war, if needs be with the most primitive weapons, come natural to him.

What part do the masses of the people play in the daily struggle for existence? Not altogether complimentary to the human species, I fear. It is in the evolution of thought and expression that man claims superiority to lower animals. In the modern civilization practically all thinking is done by one-tenth comprising the upper class of the population. For the common people there is no time to devote to quiet thought. He simply cannot endure quietness. He is so completely dependent upon his artificial environment that when alone, a condition most highly valued and eagerly sought by every thinking being, he is more helpless than a babe in arms. His pleasures are all arranged for, food provided, clothes looked after and everything taken care of, so that all he has to do is to work mechanically. This on close analysis seems to be all that European civilization has in store for the masses of the people. It is bound to be the result of any civilization wherein man has no intrinsic value of merit of his own except that he is a worker at some else's bidding.

In circumstances like this, the question of war depends not on these lower nine-tenths but upon the upper one-tenth. It has been said that war is made by the foreign offices in Europe. What is the function of the lower nine-

tenths in case of strife? They are free to follow the bidding of the general officer in command. In so-called democratic countries there is now a demand that these lower nine-tenths be consulted and allowed to vote for or against war. In Germany, often called the most civilized and efficient of the Great Powers, the socialist party had a plurality in the Reichstag at the time this war broke out. What did the party do? In the time of crisis its members exercised their prerogative and followed the Kaiser's bidding. They did not do so for the love of war or for Germany, but simply because they were helpless. Their education, their thought, their resources mental and physical, did not prepare them to become martyrs for the greatest cause in human history. Their Kultur failed them at a time when they needed it most. Factories and barracks are scarcely the proper nurseries for bringing out the highest and the most sublime qualities that make the human soul immortal. This point is most striking when we remember that war is impossible without the aid and coöperation of these lower classes. Looking from this angle we can at once reject their pretended education, self-reliance, kultur as worthy of praise or consideration. We have been deluded—hypnotized.

Diplomatic corps and foreign offices of every government play a great part in making war. So it has been suggested that there be no secret treaties. But even if all diplomatic negotiations were made public it is absurd to believe that this course would avoid war. The publication of diplomatic correspondence would educate the public mind and assist it to judge whether the country should go to war or not. It is assumed that the people have a right to say yes or no. If this were so, how could the non-publication of this correspondence take the power away from the people? They are supposed to be highly educated, highly civilized and free. Why should they go to war when so far as they can see there is no cause for it? We would expect the people to stand solidly together and refuse to go. This would be a test of their boasted civili-



zation, kultur and liberty of action. In no country was this voice raised a year ago last August, neither in autocratic Germany nor in democratic England and France. The boasted freedom and liberty of action is all newspaper talk; it was put to the supreme test and it failed.

No, the disclosure of diplomatic correspondence would not prevent war. As long as the people are an inchoate mass to be regulated, guarded and patronized by selected superior beings and are not considered as the life, the body and soul of the nation there is little hope of avoiding war or of realizing true democracy. The press, unscrupulous financiers and militarists rule the nations. Whenever it suits them they create an atmosphere of suspicion and tension too strong to overcome. To carry out their programme they depend on the vagaries of mob psychology. There is nothing easier than to rouse false patriotism among the common people by appealing to their prejudices with lying or misleading statements, by exciting groundless pride, by inspiring needless fear of being overridden by another nation with whom they may be on the most friendly terms. All this is merely taking advantage of the helplessness of the submerged nine-tenths, the pawns in the international game of chess. This is the real status of the masses of the population in Europe under what is known as modern civilization, which is based essentially upon industrial development.

In modern industry the idea of the division of labor has been stretched almost to the breaking point and has contributed largely to bringing about the abject, helpless condition of the working class. When a man goes to a factory he becomes a apart of the machine therein. He has no life, no soul, apart from that and he is unfitted to do a piece of work by himself. His monotonous routine takes all pleasure, even all thought, out of his work. Success as a great stimulant is unknown to him. Thus he seeks pleasure in artificial stimulant. With every educational facility ready at hand he is uneducated. His ambitions and ideals are all centered in mechanical movement. His value is reckoned

by his capacity, ability and power of endurance to work under most unfavorable conditions which undermine his health, diminish his strength and weaken his intellect. Broad, sound education, exalted thinking, the talisman of life is denied to him in his struggle for existence. The most pernicious ideal of a higher standard of living has become the summum bonum of his life.

Thus we see that it is ignorance and want of a clear perspective of life on the part of the common people that is the real cause of this colossal struggle in Europe today. If this be true regarding their next door neighbors, it is still more so of their attitude towards the nations of the East. All that Europe knows about the Asiatics is that they are barbarous, uncivilized or semi-civilized people, incapable of doing anything; they are a "white man's burden." All western people believe this to be true. They hear it from the pulpit; they read it in their newspapers; and their popular poet sings "East is east and west is west." They never question it. Their single track mind never wants to know in what respect "East is east and west is west."

What I have given above is to be considered not so much a criticism of western civilization as such, as an eastern view-point of the nature and results of western civilization. I have simply described the reaction of an Eastern mind to western civilization.

Now let us turn to the east and find what an Easterner thinks of his own education and civilization. We find that the Eastern nations are as proud and sensitive as those of the west. Western civilization is according to him, easily adaptable to a nation that has already reached an advanced stage of civilization—as he claims the East has. Look at Japan as an illustration. What was Japan a few years ago? I recall a line from a Bengali poem written some time before the Russo-Japanese war, which, translated, would read somewhat as follows:

"The uncivilized Japanese, still they are independent."  
Today Japan is a world power, an ally of England, and has shown how easy it is to ape the superficial part of western

civilization—that is, the part that counts in international relations. Meredith Townsend asserts that Japan has failed to produce a single great general. This may or may not be true; but the fact remains that Japan has emerged victorious from two modern wars. She is a world-power today. Japan has secured what she wanted.

Thus Japan's military success has made her a world power. She is respected, at least outwardly, and taken as a civilized nation by the Great Powers of the world. Does Japan's success appeal in the same way to an Easterner. Her troubles with China do not seem to bear it out. To an Easterner it simply shows how superficial western civilization is, how easy it is to become civilized. Herein lies the truism of the hackneyed expression "East is east and west is west." Let us consider this a little further. I am a native of India which is under British rule. In my own country I am treated oftentimes as a stranger by the British raj. Any one who knows anything about India knows this. Certain German people knew it. They even counted upon it or card-indexed the fact for future reference. At the outbreak of the war England was somewhat doubtful about India. But the Germans felt sure about it. Both have been surprised, England agreeably and Germany unpleasantly to the degree of vexation. The reason is simple. I appreciate England, not through Cromwell's work in Ireland, not through Wellington's feat in Europe, still less through Kitchener's achievements in Africa; not even from my estimate of the English people as I know of their work in India, where in some parts at least I am not allowed to walk on the same side of the road with them.

But I do claim to know much of England through Shakespeare, Milton, Burke, Mill, Browning, Tennyson, Wordsworth and, I may add, Morley, before he became the secretary of state for India. These are all idealists; hence we feel a sort of affinity. The people amongst whom lived these noble men cannot be altogether a bad race. There must be much good in them. I was not fully conscious of Brit-

ish military or naval power till recently. I cannot name off hand more than two or three English generals. The schoolboys, even those of tender age in England and Scotland, know and discuss the relative strength of their own and the German forces. My acquaintance with the Germans is formed through Kant, Schiller, Schopenhauer Muller and other literary giants. We aim to learn the history of a people through their literature. History as such is not satisfying to our minds. History as it is written does not reveal the people in the true perspective nor adequately disclose their culture. History is often a half lie, made up of distorted facts, one man's personal opinion, frequently a biased judgment. It does not accurately indicate a people's ideals and morals.

While lecturing on *Kalida's* Shakuntala, the Indian professor quotes a parallel passage from Shakespeare or Goethe, What do you think are the feelings of the 250 boys in the class? Can you analyze it? The bare Declaration of Independence, a Longfellow, or an Emerson gives us a better idea of the American people and their ideals than an intensive study of the capitalistic movement, graft, or machinery domination. These latter are a mere phase like a cyclone, like a Napoleon. That Christianity-churchianity-whitemanity, I learned only the other day; that racial prejudice and ignorance in a worse form than the caste system I broke through some years ago, is the predominating feature of western civilization I loathe to believe. The living poet-saint of India, the Nobel Prize winner, told me on the eve of my departure for England, in effect thus:

You have been accustomed while in your village home to do the bulk of your work by an oil lamp. When you go to England you will find dazzling electric light everywhere. You will see diamonds scattered all over the show windows—Price-marked half a crown, gay life, dancing, places of enjoyment everywhere. But take care that you are not dazzled with these artificial lights and superficial shows. Remember that real diamonds are not sold as cheap as that. Remember that frivolity, gaiety and all outward show have great fascination but are not the proper elements that make a nation great. So keep your eyes open and look deeper and you will find real diamonds, souls as pure as you will find anywhere on earth.

Now may I ask how many Europeans go abroad with this ideal to find what is best in a nation? How many really seek to understand other peoples, their ideals, their philosophy?

The apparent backwardness of the Eastern people is due to this attitude. But this does not prove anything. Their potential energy is great. Japan has shown how very easy it is to convert this potential energy into kinetic and make it accomplish the desired work. What should be the nature of this work? This is the problem before thoughtful Indian leaders today. The Westerner has never made a serious attempt to know what these people really are. Considering his own civilization as the only form of civilization worth having, he rejects categorically everything that does not look like his own. Other people must think the way he does. He professes a religion with which he has no sympathy except in name. Not only does he find the doctrine of salvation in the material advancement of the people, but he wants everybody else to believe with him that this is Christ's doctrine. To be civilized one must not only be able to fight, but must fight. One must wear the same kinds of clothes as he does. Monotony is his ideal of beauty, his life, one must do things exactly the way he does. Nothing short of this will satisfy him. Japan has shown how to do it; the other Eastern nations are following suit. Let me here give you an example of a successful beginning.

A Swami tourist came to Glasgow, Scotland, with an introduction from India to the writer. He arrived at the Central Station on a Saturday at 11 a.m., where we met him. He wanted to see the slums of Glasgow. It was a Saturday, and had been raining since morning—an ideal day to see the slums to be sure. On being told that we had never seen the slums though we had been in the city nearly three years, he suggested that we secure the assistance of the police. We did so and were given a couple of policemen to escort us through one of the slum districts. One is shocked to see such a number of ragged, barefooted,

half-naked men, women, boys and girls, most of them drunk, in a city claiming to be one of the most civilized in the world. After spending a couple of hours, we came back to the station. Our tourist friend said that he was going back to London that night. We were a little puzzled and asked him what was his idea in coming to Glasgow and not seeing Glasgow. He said, he had gotten what he wanted. The missionaries, the tourists go to India, come back and show pictures of the degraded part of Indian life; he was going to do the same in return. We pointed out to him that by doing so, he would simply be aping the other fellow. We told him that we should be extremely sorry to see a man of education and culture disgracing his calling by doing anything so mean; we coaxed him to come with us, which after a few minutes' reflection, he did. We introduced him in spite of his reluctance, to a minister of the United Free Church of Scotland. It was our examination time and this gentleman very thoughtfully invited this Swami friend of ours to be his guest for the short period he would be in Glasgow. He accepted the invitation, rather we accepted it for him and he stayed there ten days. He burnt all the pictures he took of the various slums before he left Glasgow.

In this our Swami friend was simply imitating the western methods or tactics. For let it be noted that this is the very kind of education that western people get of India. The modern spirit of nationalism which is accepted as patriotism is essentially western. The East is being fed in western literature and philosophy. There are many young Indians who are anxious to do exactly as western people would have done under the same circumstances. Can anybody blame them? Every Indian feels the pressure, not so much of an alien government as of the western caste system, its want of culture and its arrogance. These young Indians see what Japan has done in such a short time. Of course, it is easier for Japan than it is for the people of China or of India. The latter have their own ideals; they have cherished these ideals through the ages.

Their comfort is in their philosophy, their literature and their religions. Their greatest pleasure and supreme joy is in the work they do individually. The shoemaker is proud of the beautiful pair of shoes he has made; the whole country knows him through the quality of his work. The weaver who weaves the finest muslin is proud of his task. He is proud that he is born. His work makes him immortal. His caste with all its defects, does not prevent him from acquiring the highest skill in his work and thereby earning the regard and respect of the whole community. He loathes going to a factory to be classed as a human machine. He knows that once he enters a factory as a worker, he leaves the independence of his thought and the liberty of his action behind him forever. In his religions and philosophy he finds most of the modern inventions anticipated, all of the modern theories discussed. He is naturally slow to move; but he is moving. The influence of modern Western civilization is too strong; it is too rude to let him alone.

The craving for money-making, luxury and frivolity is contagious: everybody catches it like a cold. It is easy to give way to it, when unbridled, it will crush anything, men, women and children ruthlessly on its way to full realization. Western civilization shows this so plainly. It has been estimated that 75,000 human beings are sacrificed every year at the altar of civilizing industries in the United States alone! Look at the present field of war today in Europe. Men, women and children, what are they? I have no doubt that India passed through this stage once. She learned the lesson partly by intuition and partly from experience. Her Sages realizing the full situation stopped this onrush for material prosperity at its beginning, and diverted their thoughts to spiritual and philosophical channels. Thus in matters of religion and in the domain of spirit the Western mind has not reached either the depths or the heights commanded by the ancient Indian mind. In matters social, her Caste system however degraded today, has been based on sound principles and lofty ideals.

In the domain of philosophy the East has nothing to learn from the West. In the realm of physical science the modern Western nations are far ahead of the Eastern nations. But it may be justly claimed that most of the fundamental truths on which the superstructure of European science is raised, were known to the Eastern people. The East, specially China and India, is now in a transition stage. What kind of India would our thoughtful leaders like to see when she begins to take an active part in world affairs, is very well presented by one of her gifted sons, Prof. B. N. Seal.

Thus has India been helped both by nature and nurture, by her geographical condition and historic experience, by her religious ideas and political ideals, to realise herself as a unit, to perceive and preserve, and promote her individuality in fulfilment of her heaven-appointed mission in the culture history of the world. Indian thought occupies a distinct place in the evolution of human thought. Indian life has its distinctive part to play in the history of humanity. Human culture would be incomplete and poor without its Indian contribution. The world is in need of India, a living, rejuvenated India—of the strength of her message, her cult, her faith. For what does India represent? Not universal Europe of the type attempted by the Eternal City, not universal spiritual dominion like the mother of all the churches, India's gift to the world has been the fair fabric of an empire, a nationality founded on the basis of universal Peace (Ahinsa) Peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature, a fabric that was alas! ruthlessly shattered by the shock and collision of historic forces. For the Divine Maker of all history, has, perhaps, ordained that the world shall pass through the process of a painful historic development from the brute to the man.

Standing alone now in the background of historic nationalities and teeming millions, India calls us to the cult of the spirit, calls the mighty nations of the earth to lay aside their pride and hate, their scepters and swords, and, with redemptive humility, love, and sacrifice, to fight in union the forces of rebarbarisation that are fast turning whole continents into armed hostile camps. It is in that Indian cult of the spirit that nations, like individuals, will find their rest and peace, and realize their democratic dreams of a world federation or a parliament of man—*Race Congress Report*, 1909.

Let us here pause a moment and reflect on the German ideas and ideals. Nobody, however much anti-German



he may be, will deny the marvelous efficiency of the German people. That German achievement is really great, is undeniable. The state is supreme. To be of service to the state is at once the ambition, the glory and the pride of every German citizen. The German people look to the state and its authority with a religious veneration. From the tribal stage, Germany has now reached the state-stage, if I may call it so. In the beginning men used to think in terms of himself alone, his own comfort and life. Then he began to think in terms of the family; he would do everything for the comfort and betterment of his family. The idea of individual self-preservation was thus sacrificed for the preservation of the whole family. Next, in order man came to think in terms of the group. Finally he now thinks in terms of the state. And here he has stopped. German and other Western philosophers and leaders can go no farther. But in order to create perfect harmony within the whole human race, man must think not in terms of the state but in terms of the whole human race. In this way of thinking a man as such is a nonentity, but he is great since he is a member of the great human race. He must organize and work to benefit humanity as a whole, he can attain the highest development only in the highest development of the race. Anything short of this is barbarism. If German efficiency were directed to this end, the world federation would perhaps be very near its goal today.

With no little pride and genuine joy I realize that there was a time in the remote past when our Eastern Sages greeted the world with the joyful recognition of kindred.

It was not an anthropomorphic hallucination. It was not seeing man reflected everywhere in grotesquely exaggerated images, and witnessing the human drama acted on a gigantic scale in nature's arena of flitting lights and shadows. On the contrary, it meant crossing the limiting barriers of the individual, to become, more than man, to become one with the all.—*Tagore.*

Now the question of the moment is whether the East can stand this force of anglicizing everything not English, Germanizing everything not German, Russianizing any-

thing not Russian and Americanizing everything not American. The disregard, neglect, contempt and scorn with which these Asiatic people are looked down upon by the Westerner, is ploughing the ground and sowing seeds of bitterness too deep in the hearts of these Asiatics to be fruitless in season. The Westerner, as a rule, however well educated he may be, knows very little of the Asiatic people and cares less. The press, the unscrupulous financiers and the militarists, the ruling Caste in the West, have been able to create a feeling of distrust and bitterness against their next door neighbors, apparently with no great difficulty. How easy it would be for them to do the same thing against the Asiatics? On the absurd plea of a competition between the lower standard of living of the Asiatic and the higher standard of living of the Westerner, the economist will furnish good cause for a war to dominate the Asiatics permanently! This war is not only not impossible but seems very probable, if not inevitable. For it would be unreasonable to expect that the Eastern nations will not in the near future claim better treatment in their international relations. Do not let us be deluded with the belief that these Eastern nations with their historic past, with a just pride in their philosophy, literature and culture, will forever stand by and suffer injuries and insults. Let it be noted that the Eastern people are not intellectually inferior to the Western people; they are not less active. They are equally enterprising and ambitious. Dr. Leitner, a thorough German scholar, once director of Education in India, in his *History of the Indigenous Education of the Punjab*, speaks of the people of India thus:

Do what we may, our reforms including the Roman character, will be considered by the masses, as an insidious attempt to upset their religion. Learn to consult the natives, and you will strike a mine of intellect, and a desire for reforms of the existence of which the half-trained European does not dream when he forces his crude notions on races that have long discussed and dismissed innovations in every branch of human thought and activity, because they had not the mechanical appliances for putting them into practice. Now, as 3000 years ago, the East is the home of mental discipline, culture and repose; where genius

is as universal as it is ignored, in consequence chiefly, of the want of publicity, and of easy communication. Without these advantages we should be behind the orientals whom we despise. The one intelligent European among a thousand of his dull brethren is able to pass off his views and inventions as the embodiment of the civilization of his continent. When the whole East will have its cheap press and railways—provided always that it does not seek to imitate slavishly the west in its reforms—it must resume the position it once held, owing to the native genius of its people.

The whole Indian public look at the idea of transplanting Western institutions wholesale to India with perfect horror and dread. But unfortunately the tendency is that way—a slavish imitation of the West. Japan has shown how easy it is to acquire Western civilization very efficiently within a short space of time and thus to demand respect and regard from the Western nations, meeting them face to face and beating them at their own game. This has a fascination. This is intoxicating, and how much intoxicated the Eastern people will become, will depend on the supply of stimulant by the Western nations. To be let alone is out of the question in these days of easy communication and traveling facilities. Western people demand that to be on the same footing with them, Asiatics must prove their military strength, the only test enabling a state to enter the arena of the civilized nations!

I want to emphasize this point. If the whole East shall become saturated with the idea which Japan is trying (for self-preservation, I presume) to inculcate in them: if the whole East is forced to join hand in hand by Western prejudice, arrogance and contempt; if the whole east begins to rush into money-making, factory-building and power hunting, under the leadership of Japan, following the footsteps of the Western people, the inevitable result will be to bring the West and the East face to face in an industrial competition resulting in a terrible military catastrophe which will make the present gigantic conflict in Europe seem like child's play.

Of course, I cannot go into every detail of this most important and vital question in this paper. But it may nat-

urally be asked, What is to be done? "Forewarned is forearmed"—As I strongly believe that there is but one indicator of civilization, that is, the standard of thought—for existence requires too little to make standard of living the indicator of man's civilization; so I believe that there is but one way of solving these international misunderstandings, that is by understanding them, by education. Ignorance is the root of all conflicts. Let the people be educated. When the Westerner knows the ideals and aspirations of the Easterner and the East is shown the best of the West they will learn to sympathize with each other, there will be mutual understanding, and hence less cause for any serious outbreak. It is in the blending of the marvelous inventive genius and energy of the West with the philosophy and attitude toward life of the East that we will find the solution of international conflict.

Differences between races there must be, and ought to be, but a mutual understanding is essential if we are to become better friends. If America is to lead the nations to establish a world federation or a parliament of man, since America is the only nation which has the opportunity, strength and resources, this education would begin here. When America becomes so well prepared and equipped with the culture of all the different nations of the world that her going into war with any of them becomes unthinkable, then she will be prepared to take a position of leadership in the world. America is a nation composed of all nationalities, the American Declaration of Independence is the most sacred document in the world; those who are sheltered under it ought to justify their loyalty and reverence for this historic document, by lending all their forces, moral and physical, intelligence, resources, initiative and inventive genius to accomplish this one thing—to educate the people and thus further the cause of world federation. It is the study of the literature and philosophy of all countries that will give the American people a clear insight into the ideals and aspirations of those who have come to them from other lands and thereby help them to understand

those other nations better. History in its wider sense ought to be the background of education for all men and women; not mere "drill in history," in memorizing the names of Henry VIII's wives or recording the birthday and education of the historian; but history in the broader aspect covering the literature, philosophy and civilization of the people of the world should be the main theme of education.